pathy of the whole American people, the zeal of American christianity, the persevering efforts of the American government, and the exceedingly favorable circumstances under which the experiment of civilizing our savages has been made, not a nation or tribe has yet been saved, and all that has been effected has been through intermixture of race. This intermixture is however, barred by prejudices of race and color, and the Indians remaining distinct from us melt away like frost before the sun.

Moreover, the climate of Africa will not permit white colonization to any important extent. The mere fact that it has not been occupied by the whites is evidence of this. If it could have been thus occupied, Europe would long

since have emptied her redundant population on its shores.

But the colonists must themselves be civilized and christianized. More-

over, they must be familiar with the principles of republican government.

The history of the world shows that colonies must be democratic or worthless. Monarchies are not suited for new lands. A looser and freer organization is necessary to permit the individual enterprize, the aggregate of which is success. Again: monarchies among civilized nations can only exist where a crowded population makes many dependent upon the state for employment and subsistence. In a new country, where all are equally provided for, the domination of one, except through the force of personal qualities, is impossible, unless, indeed, the colony be a mere transfer of a mass of people from a monarchial country, carrying with them their princes and priests, their customs and laws, their prejudices and fashions; in short, merely changing their place on the map of the world. Such a colony would never expand. Its very nature would be conservative, not aggressive. It would have to resist, not to subdue. It would languish and die.

The colonists must be christian people. They must not only acknowledge the great truths of religion, but they must be under the moral influence of christianity. They must be just and benevolent; they must know their mission, and feel it. They must be men of virtue, reproving by their conduct the vice of the natives, as well as by their words. The African must be taught by example the possibility and advantage of truth, of honesty, of benevolence, of continence—Without this it will be useless to teach him the advantage of labor, and the use of tools. This will be only to give power to the savage in heart; to increase the strength of the cruel; to widen the area of enjoyment for brutal appetite; to make civilization minister to sin.

Our own colored population furnishes the very people wanted for African Colonization. We do not mean that all of them are prepared for this great and glorious mission; but very many of them are, and many more are preparing for it. That the colored population of the United States, viewed as a whole, are in a state of civilization, not only superior to that of the natives of Africa, but even to that of the peasantry of the great part of Europe, is beyond controversy. This has been the result of slavery—the providential good out of the bitter evil. It is impossible to gainsay this. The very argument of the abolitionists, when dwelling upon the horrors of slavery to a now refined and christian people, admit this. In how have this people been thus refined and christianized? Not by abolitionists, but by masters; not by freedom, but by slavery. The invasion of Judea by the Assyrians was selfish and wicked; the slavery of the captive people was cruel; but it cured them of idolatry. No thanks to Nebuchadnezzar, but much to God.

The negroes have been civilized by imitation, instruction, observation. Children, born in the house of a highly civilized master, reared under the eye of a refined and religious mistress; must necessarily themselves be civilized, and most probably would be religious. The interests of the owners must prompt them to teach their servants both morals and manners. No one

would wish to be surrounded by depraved, or ministered to by savage servants. The religion of Jesus sheds its hallowed influence over the conduct of masters as well as other men, and teaching them to remember that they too have a master in heaven, and bidding them to "forbear threatening," but conducting themselves with equity and kindness toward their dependents, produces its fruit both in the life of the owner and the owned. It is unquestionable, that to a very large extent, the owners of slaves in this country are humane in their conduct toward them, and really desirous of their spiritual good. While the State laws are barbarous, individual action is kind, and the whole race is advancing in knowledge and piety, notwithstanding the difficulties of slavery. We err much in our estimate of the moral condition of the slaves if we infer it from the supposed general application of the strict letter of State laws to them. The law may forbid them the knowledge of letters, yet they are taught to read with impunity, for they may not testify against their master or mistress should either of them see fit to disregard the law. In the matter of marriage, the slaves, for the most part, are taught to regard it as a holy and binding ordinance. Married ladies in the south are not more indifferent to the presence of adultery and license than their sisters in the north. Wherever an American woman resides in the mansion, decency will. be the law of the estate. To our personal knowledge, ladies in the south do take extraordinary pains to inculcate upon their slaves right views of marriage. We are acquainted with a lady in South Carolina, a member of the Episcopal Church, who is so anxious on this point, that in order to invest the ceremony of marriage with all possible solemnity, she has the rite performed in her parlor, and always by the bishop of the diocese. The system of slavery is not in harmony with the law of marriage; but individuals, and vast numbers of them, exert all their authority and influence to counteract the evil tendency of the system in this respect. All authentic information from the south determines to one conclusion, that the laboring population there are largely under the influence of civilization and religion.

But we do not look immediately to the slave population for the supply of colonists to Africa. However prepared in many respects they may be to be actors in this grand missionary enterprise, they lack that habit of self-reliance which is necessary for colonists. They cannot have the foresight and prudence necessary to the exigencies of a state so novel, and for which they have never been trained. Individual slaves may be found equal to these circumstances but we cannot expect it as a general or ordinary thing.

But the free colored people of the country are under no such disadvantage. Of all people on earth these are the most slandered. Our long residence in Baltimore, where we believe there are more of them in proportion to the population than in any other city, has made us well acquainted with their character and condition: and in spite of all the evil that has been spoken and written about them, we declare them to be, in all respects, a people superior to their condition. Of course we do not include them all in this opinion, but speak of them as a class. Let any one take his stand near one of their churches and observe the dress and deportment of the congregation; let him enter the church built with their money, and listen to the preacher supported by their voluntary contributions. Let him mark their countenances, and listen to their hymns and prayers, and then say whether these are not a civilized and christian people. Let him go into their houses, many of which are their own property, notice their furniture, observe their children, and all the management of the family, and surely he will go away without much commiseration for their inferiority.

Among these people there is a desire for knowledge and the means to gratify it. Many of them read much and think much, and among them are to be

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